

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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AMEMBASSY BONN

DIA WASHDC

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS NICOSIA 2041

USCINCEUR FOR POLAD: USDOCOSOUTH FOR POLAD

SUMMARY: GOC PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICE JULY 16 RELEASED TEXT OF ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS' INTERVIEW SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH ITS PUBLICATION IN GERMAN WEEKLY DIE ZEIT. INTERVIEW WAS ACTUALLY GIVEN IN MAY. INTER ALIA ARCHBISHOP BLAMED TURKISH SIDE FOR FAILING TO SUBMIT TERRITORIAL PROPOSALS AND THEREBY DEADLOCKING INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS; ACCEPTED PRINCIPLE OF FEDERAL SOLUTION WHILE REJECTING FORCIBLE EXCHANGE OF PEOPLE AND PROPERTY; ADMITTED HIS MISTAKES IN ALLOWING JUNTA TO PLACE CYPRUS WITHIN GREECE'S DEFENSE PERIMETER AND IN BELIEVING JUNTA WAS TOO LOGICAL TO ENGINEER COUP. END SUMMARY

1. MAJOR PORTIONS OF TEXT FOLLOW: BEGIN TEXT QUOTE

QUESTION: HOW DO YOU THINK IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THE TWO SIDES OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM TO GET OUT OF THE DEADLOCK INTO WHICH THEY UNCLASSIFIED

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HAVE MANOEUVRED THEMSELVES?

ANSWER: THE SUBMISSION OF CONCRETE PROPOSALS ON ALL THE ASPECTS OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, AND PARTICULARLY ON THE TERRITORIAL ISSUE, WILL OPEN THE WAY FOR RESUMPTION OF THE TALKS. THE PROBLEM SHOULD BE APPROACHED ON A PACKAGE DEAL BASIS. SUCH APPROACH CANNOT BECOME PROOSIBLE UNLESS BOTH SIDES PRODUCE COMPREHENSIVE PROPOSALS. THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE HAS ALREADY PRESENTED ITS PROPOSALS. THEY MAY NOT BE ACCEPTABL ETO THE TURKISH CYPRIOT SIDE, WHICH, HOWEVER, SHOULD NOT CONFINE ITSELF TO COMMENTING ON OR REJECTING THEM BUT SHOULD ALSO SUBMIT COUNTER PORPOSALS. THE TURKISH CYPRIOT SIDE PERSISTENTLY AVOIDS PRESENTING ITS PROPOSALS ON ALL ASPECTS, INCLUDING THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION. THE ONLY EXPLANATION FOR THIS TURKISH ATTITUDE IS THAT THERE IS NO INTENTION TO RETURN TO THE GREEK CYPRIOTS ANY PART OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORY. IN SUCH A CASE THE TALKS FOR THE TURKISH SIDE WOULD BE NOTHING ELSE BUT A MEANS FOR LEGALISATION OF THE PRESENT DE FACTO SITUATION. WE ARE IN FAVOUR OF RESUMPTION OF THE TALKS, CONSIDERING THEM AS THE BEST AVAILABLE PROCEDURE. THEY SHOULD, HOWEVER, BE SUBSTANTIVE AND MEANINGFUL. MY FEELING IS THAT THE TALKS HAVE BEEN USED SO FAR BY TURKEY TO ENABLE HER COMFORTABLY TO FACE INTERNATIONAL CRITICISM OR EVEN PRESSURE FOR THE ADOPTION OF A MODERATE POLICY ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.

QUESTION: WHAT DOES THE POLICY OF THE "LONG STRUGGEL" MEAN?

ANSWER: THE MEANING OF THE "LONG STRUGGLE" FOR THE GREEK CYPRIOT PEOPLE IS THAT THEY ARE DETERMINED NOT TO GIVE IN TO BRUTAL FORCE AND NOT TO ACCEPT THE FAITS ACCOMPLIS CREATED BY SUCH FORCE. ONE OF THE MEANS OF SUCH STRUGGLE IS THE FURTHER INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE PROBLEM, WHICH WILL NOT CEASE TO EXIST UNTIL A JUST SOLUTION IS FOUND.

QUESTION: WHAT ARE THE ESSENTIALS FOR THE FUTURE SETTLEMENT AS SEEN BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS?

ANSWER: THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE HAS ALREADY AGREED TO A FEDERAL SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM PROVIDED CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES ARE ACCEPTED BY THE OTHER SIDE. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, FREEDOM OF SETTLEMENT AND THE RIGHT OF PTOPEY IN ANY PART OF THE ISLAND CONSTITUTE PREREQUISITES AND BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR A FEDERATION WHICH WILL NOT CONFLICT WITH THE CONCEPT OF A SINGLE STATE. IN A FEDERAL STATE THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS WILL HAVE A SPECIFIC AREA UNDER THEIR ADMINISTRATION. ARRANGEMENTS CAN ALSO BE MADE SO THAT THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS CAN UNCLASSIFIED

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LIVE SEPARATELY, IF THEY SO WISH. BUT I CANNOT ACCEPT A FORCIBLE EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS AND PROPERTIES. THERE ARE MANY FEDERAL COUNTEIS, INCLUDING THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, WHICH CAN BE USED AS MODELS IN THIS CONNECTION.

QUESTION: HOW MUCH IS ENOSIS STILL A POLICY AND AN IDEOLOGY OF THE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT?

ANSWER: ENOSIS IS NEITHER A POLICY NOR AN IDEOLOGY OF THE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT.

QUESTION: HOW FLEXIBLE, HOW MUCH READY TO COMPROMISE DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF?

ANSWER: I KNOW THAT SOME PEOPLE ARGUE THAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE, WITH SOME FLEXIBILITY, TO REACH AN AGREEMENT ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE THE TURKISH INVASION. THIS IS TRUE. IT SHOULD, HOWEVER, BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION THAT GREECE WAS RULED AT THE TIME BY THE JUNTA, WHICH SUPPORTED THE EOKA-B ILLEGAL ORGANISATION IN CYPRUS AND, THEREFORE, I COULD NOT HAVE REACHED AN AGREEMENT WITH THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS WITHOUT LAYING MYSELF OPEN TO THE CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON AND WITHOUT PROVOKING VIOLENT REACTIONS ON THE GROUND THAT I RULED OUT ENOSIS. IT SHOULD BE NOTED IN THIS CONNECTION THAT THE GREEK JUNTA AND ITS AGENTS IN CYPRUS CONTINUOUSLY ACCUSED ME OF BEING AN OBSTACLE TO THE REALISATION OF ENOSIS.

QUESTION: WHAT CAN STILL BE DONE TO REMEDY THE SITUATION WITHOUT RISKING A TOTAL LOSS?

ANSWER: I CANNOT, OF COURSE, SAY THAT NO MISTAKES WERE MADE. IF, HOWEVER, THERE HAD BEEN NO OUTSIDE INTERVENTIONS IT WOULD HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE TO DEAL WITH SUCH MISTAKES IN A WAY THAT WOULD HAVE NOT HAD SERIOUS REPERCUSSIONS. I WOULD SAY IN THIS CONNECTION THAT THE GREATEST MISTAKE WAS THE ADOPTION BY US OF THE THEORY OF THE GREEK JUNTA THAT CYPRUS SHOULD BE REGARDED AS PART OF GREECE'S DEFENSE AREA. THE ACCEPTANCE OF THIS THEORY LED TO UNDERSIRABLE DEVELOPMENTS IN CYPRUS WHICH CULMINATED IN THE JULY 15, 1974 COUP. THAT COUP PROVIDED TURKEY WITH A PRETEXT TO INVADE CYPRUS. REGARDLESS OF HOW MANY MISTAKES WERE MADE, WE WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN REDUCED TO THE PRESENT TRAGIC SITUATION, IF THAT COUP HAD NOT BEEN ENGINEERED. IT WAS ALSO A BIG MISTAKE ON MY PART THAT I NEVER THOUGHT THAT A COUP MIGHT TAKE PLACE EVEN THOUGH EVERYBODY SPOKE OF SUCH A DANGER. BUT I CREDITED THE JUNTA WITH SOME LOGIC. IT IS NOW DIFFICULT TO SAY WHAT CAN BE DONE TO REMEDY THE SITUATION. THE GREEK CYPRIOT

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SIDE WILL DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE FOR A COMPROMISE. SUCH COMPROMISE, HOWEVER, SHOULD NOT ENDANGER THE FUTURE STATUS OF CYPRUS AS A SINGLE STATE.

QUESTION: WILL THE AFTER ELECTION POLITICAL PROFILE OF CYPRUS LOOK ANY DIFFERENT THAN THE PRESENT ONE?

ANSWER: I DO NOT THINK THAT THE FORTHCOMING PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS WILL CHANGE SIGNIFICANTLY THE PRESENT POLITICAL PROFILE OF CYPRUS. AS WE HAVE A PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM, THE PROFILE OF CYPRUS BEARS THE SEAL OF THE PRESIDENT RATHER THAN THAT OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. UNQUOTE. END TEXT

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